1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

LAND USE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

●132 PRACTICALLY the entire length of the Frontera lies between 37 and 40 degrees, south latitude. Within this zone summers are usually dusty and hot, and winters are characterized by excessive rainfalls that turn fields into bogs and roads into successions of mudholes (Pl. V, Fig. 1). Except in the mountains, very little snow falls, and temperatures seldom go below freezing; yet the air is so damp and chill that even one accustomed to the snow and ice of winter in the northern middle latitudes finds himself cold and uncomfortable. According to McBride, most of the Frontera averages over eighty inches of rain annually, and nearly all precipitation occurs from May to September.[1] The rainy season begins late in May, reaches a climax during July and August, and tapers off in September. Each year, so local inhabitants like to tell, the drabness of winter is broken by days of warm, sunny weather that is popularly known as "the little summer of Saint John" because it is supposed to come at the time of Saint John's Day on June 24. In 1948, true enough, such a pleasant interlude did occur, except that it started about a week before the winter solstice. For the poorer groups of Indians and Chileans alike, the mid-winter months from June to August constitute a blue period because the preceding year's food is likely to be exhausted before the new crops are ready to be harvested.

137 There is a great deal of natural vegetation in the territory of the Mapuche. "The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bío Bío and extends with only local breaks throughout the area. . . . Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches . . . and cypress. . . . Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*)."[2] The Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*) is also common to the area and extends well up the slopes of the Andes. [262] Some of the native groups living here are known to have used *Araucaria* piñons as a staple plant food.

[1] McBride, 1936, p. 21, Fig. 7, *et passim*.
[2] Cooper, 1946, pp. 687–88.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

THE ARAUCANIANS

By JOHN M. COOPER

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT[1]

Middle Chile, the earlier habitat of the *Araucanians*, extends from lat. 30° to 43° S. and falls into two divisions, northern Middle Chile, 30° to 37°, and southern Middle Chile, 37° to 43°, which correspond fairly closely to the accepted tribal division of the Chilean *Araucanians* into the *Picunche*, and the *Mapuche-Huilliche* (map 1, *No. 17*; map 5). To the east runs the Andean Cordillera, reaching an average altitude of about 15,000 to 20,000 feet (5,000 to 6,000 m.) through much of its length, and toward the ocean the coastal range, averaging about 1,000 feet (300 m.) in altitude with a maximum of around 7,000 feet (2,300 m.). Between the two ranges lies the great Central Valley, extending with few breaks the whole length of Middle Chile. There are many passes through the Andes. Those most used in Colonial days were the high-altitude Uspallata pass to Mendoza and the low-altitude one east of Villarica. Snowfall is unusual in the Central Valley, but is abundant in the Cordillera.

In northern Middle Chile, the *Picunche* country, north of the Bio-Bio River, precipitation is light, with a Mediterranean climate, of rains in the winter and drought in the summer. From the southern limits of the desert proper at Coquimbo to the Bio-Bio River, precipitation gradually increases. Vegetation is dry forest, of the chaparral type, with acacias and laurels typical.

In southern Middle Chile, the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* country, precipitation is heavy, and occurs throughout the year. The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bio-Bio and extends with only local breaks throughout the area, with a markedly humid climate. Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches (*Notofagus obliqua* and *N. dombeyi*, respectively), and cypress (*Libo-*

[1] Since certain *Araucanian* tribal names, such as *Huilliche*, *Picunche*, etc., are so well established in anthropological usage that change of customary spelling would look strange, and since most of our sources give only important information on the exact pronunciation of native *Araucanian* words, especially of the vowels, it has not proved feasible or advisable to adopt a uniform system of transcription throughout the present paper. The chief phonetic equivalents used herein are: *ch*, as Spanish *ch*; *ñ* as Spanish *n*; *ü*, *ë*, and *ï*, as English *u*; *ge* before *e* and *i*, as *h*; *c*, as *k*; *ll* and *tl*, the *ly* and *ay* sounds respectively, as in Spanish; *ŋ*, as *ng* in English *ring*; *ŧ*, close to labialized French *u*.

In scientific identifications of native plants and animals, the writer has in most cases followed Lenz (1904–10), Félix José da Augusto (1916), Gusinde (1936), and Montesinos (1936).

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

cedrus chilensis). Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*).

The "*Pehuenche*" country comprises the higher slopes and intermontane valleys of the Andes, poorly adapted, on account of the low temperatures, to horticulture. Its most characteristic feature bearing upon culture is the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*), which covers great areas in the high intermontane valleys and on the upper western and eastern slopes of the Andes from about lat. 37°30' to 40°30' S.

The open country of the Argentine *Araucanians* is described more in detail in the paper on "The Southern Hunters" (q. v., Handbook, vol. 1, p. 127).

ARAUCANIAN TERRITORY

At the first coming of the Whites to Chile, *Araucanian*-speaking peoples occupied all the area west of the Andean uplands from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to, at least, the Río Choapa. The southern limit was Corcovado Gulf, immediately south whereof, in the Guaiteca Islands and the archipelago beyond, were the non-*Araucanian Chono* (Cooper, 1917, pp. 30-34). The northern limit is less sharply definable from our sources. To judge from Luis de Valdivia's explicit statement (1887, p. 6) and from local place names, the zone between the Choapa and Coquimbo was also at least partly *Araucanian*.

Whether the Indians who in the 16th and 17th centuries dwelt in or adjacent to the *Araucaria imbricata* forests of the higher intermontane valleys of the Andes between about lat. 37° and 40° S., whose staple plant food was *Araucaria* pignons, and who were called "*Puelche*" (Olaverría, 1852, p. 15) and later "*Pehuenche*" by contemporary Spanish writers, were then *Araucanian*-speaking, is not clear.

Latcham assembled a certain amount of evidence, mostly non-linguistic, in support of his view that they were not then *Araucanian*-speaking, but that they became *Araucanized* in language in the 19th century (Latcham, 1929-30, 6: 150-72). They were first explicitly recorded as *Araucanian*-speaking by Pietas in 1720 (1848, p. 490; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 263; 1878 b, pp. 492-93). The evidence from the earlier sources is more puzzling. Only two of the sources, the "Proceso criminal de 1658" and Rosales, give clues to the language spoken by the piñon-eating peoples called therein "*Paluenche*" ("*Paptenche*"). The piñon-eating "*Paluenche*" described in the "Proceso criminal de 1658" were probably non-*Araucanian* speaking (1929, pp. 47, 126, 143-44, 182, 196; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 46-47). But Rosales, in his account of his peace mission in 1650 or 1652 through the upper cordilleran "*Paptenche*" country south of lat. 38° S. to the "*Puelche*" country east of the "*Paptenche*" country, is careful to state that the "*Puelche*" spoke a non-*Araucanian* tongue, whereas he makes no

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

they were believed him—they saw his wounds and believed that he had talked to his people, and they let him go home. José Martín did not return for some time. When he did he came home on a Chilean boat and disembarked at Chan Chan. He brought with him many gifts from the Chilenos for the new chief, cacique, Anabria, among them rice and sugar—Anabria Limited was the first Mapuche here to eat rice and sugar. After Anabria had completely recovered, he again went to Valdivia and spoke to the Colonel. As a reward for establishing peace among his people, the Colonel gave him a cane topped with a crook of silver. The cane is still at Pedro Martín's, but it does not look like the same cane; it was damaged in a fire and repaired by a silversmith. Later the Colonel came here to sign the peace with the cacique, Anabria. He disembarked at Chan Chan with 1,500 soldiers. When we saw him lead these soldiers on to our land, our people fled and hid; they thought that now their homes would be burned and they themselves exterminated. The women wailed. But this ended the wars. That is how the Mapuche in this area saved themselves from annihilation.

The territory occupied by the Araucanians (in what is now Chile) when the Spanish first entered it probably extended from the Andean uplands to the Pacific and from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to the river Choapa, or still farther north. Cooper's sources place them between latitudes 30° and 43° S. (1946, p. 687). At present the Araucanians are found mainly in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, with the largest number between latitudes 37° and 40° S.

In the western part of these two provinces, on the Pacific, is the Coastal Range. Its altitude averages 1,000 feet, with a maximum of 1,600 feet. In the eastern part is the Andean Cordillera. Between these two mountain systems lies the great Central Valley. The rivers Imperial, Tolten, Molinos, Cruces, and Calle-Calle and their tributaries drain the area from east to west across the valley. The main pass over the Andes in the Araucanian country, the old Trouan Pass, is by way of Villarrica and Pucón in Chile to Junín de los Andes in Argentina. In the low altitudes of the Andes in the Araucanian country are the beautiful lakes of Calaco, Villarrica, Colmapue, Calafquén, Pelehúe, Pongipulli, Riñihue, and Panguipulli. From nearly all parts of the province snow-capped ridges of the Andean ranges can be seen, as well as the volcanoes Llaima (10,040 feet), Villarrica (9,317 feet), Quetrupillán (7,540 feet), Shoshuenco (7,540 feet), and Lanín (12,870 feet). Lanín is just beyond the boundary in Argentina.

The climate of the region is affected by strong east winds, known as puelches, and by the Humboldt Current of the Pacific moving northward along the shore. Except in high altitudes there is no snowfall; the winter season is a rainy one.

Based on estimates, the Araucanians may have numbered from 500,000 to three times that when the Spaniards first met them. How many there are at present is not accurately known; Chilean au-

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

are large level sections, but the uniformity is broken by numerous There hills and spurs emanating from the Andes and the coastal mountains, especially along the southern border of Cautín Province where the two ranges abut in a narrow pass through which the central railroad runs.

The climate of this part of Chile is characterized by cool, dry summers and abundant winter rainfall. Precipitation in Cautín Province averages more than 80 inches a year, reaching more than 100 inches in the Andes and falling below 80 in parts of the Central Valley which lie in the rain shadow of the coastal range. The average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the warmest month and about 50 degrees in the coldest, indicating no great range of variation throughout the year. Temperature ranges are conditioned both by altitude and proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Winter snows occur in the Andes and their foothills, while freezing temperatures are rare in the Central Valley and along the coast.

The bulk of the population, both Mapuche and Chilean, is found in the Central Valley. It is here that most of the Chilean cities and towns are situated. While the largest number of reservations are found in this sector of Araucanía, it is also in this region that the greatest displacement of Indians has occurred. Mapuche territory has shrunk as a consequence of its importance in the forceful control of the fighting Mapuche throughout the colonial era as well as a result of its importance in the agricultural expansion of the colonizing society after the defeat and pacification of the Mapuche in the early 1880's.

Temuco, whose population was more than 50,000 in 1959, is the capital of Cautín Province and the largest commercial and industrial center in the Frontera. It is the hub of highway and railroad transportation, the center of regional political activity, and has many schools, several hospitals, banks, industries (flour, wool, and lumber-processing plants), government railroad shops, and many retail stores. The main railroad line runs through Temuco from north to south and has several trunks branching east and west through a number of small towns which serve as centers for shipping local produce. These towns range in size from a little more than 5,000 persons (e.g. Villarrica, Nueva Imperial) to 1,000 or less. Some of them are centers for local fairs at which animals are selected for shipment to Temuco and the cities of northern Chile. Near the Andes and the coastal mountains they also serve as repositories for timber, which is brought

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

241 [407] used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

[224] If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and [305] brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*mueller de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff [231] is considered inferior fodder.

132 241 For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. [221] According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

439 243 [21] [433] Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as [560] food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If [231] too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rábano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

241 [313] Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

241 In the Lumaila region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
(453) of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields
seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drain-
age is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the
rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[34] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[30] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant
amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, con-
sequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[342] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to
the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places,
if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Lumaila region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The
area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty
years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche
families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calaiquén.
Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which
are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting
operations. These trunks and stumps are mainly into charcoal by a
[304] number of the Mapuche — an industry which is a welcome supple-
ment to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

343 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing
machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of
the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-
threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to
cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1933, one of the most severe winters in many
years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to
exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
622 matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[916] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences
and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed
the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

[i.e. Reservation N. Nahuelpan — Antonio?]